

## An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

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# Shiraho (Okinawa, Southern Ryukyuan)

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## 1 The Language and Its Speakers

Shiraho is spoken in Shiraho village on Ishigaki Island, which is located in the southernmost islands of the Ryukyu archipelago. While Shiraho village has a population of about 1,600, the number of speakers of Shiraho is under 100. This is because the majority of speakers are over seventy years of age. Community members in their fifties and sixties seem to have passive language knowledge of Shiraho, but the situation among younger generations is not known.

Shiraho belongs to Yaeyaman, which is a sub-branch of Macro-Yaeyaman, within the Southern Ryukyuan languages (Pellard 2015). The language-internal genealogical classification of Yaeyaman is the subject of discussion, but according to Lawrence (2000), Shiraho and Hateruma diverged from other Yaeyaman dialects at an early stage. This genealogical relationship with Hateruma is due to the twice forced migration from Hateruma Island in 1710 and 1771.

There are previous works focused on Shiraho written in Japanese. Notable works are Nakagawa et al. (2016), which is the first grammar sketch of Shiraho, and Ryūkyū Hōgen Kenkyū Club (2006), which gives a vocabulary list. This chapter gives a grammatical overview of Shiraho with new data collected in my fieldwork. This paper is also a grammar sketch, but diverges from Nakagawa et al. (2016) in terms of (i) updated analysis of simple sentences, and (ii) giving basic description of complex sentences. There are descriptive studies on other Yaeyaman dialects: Aso (2020) for Hateruma, Harada (2015) for Kuroshima, and Izuyama (2003) for Miyara. Lawrence (2011) describes Southern Ryukyuan, focusing on the data from the Hatoma dialect.

## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 *Inventory of Phonemes*

Shiraho has six vowels (/i, e, a, o, u, i/). The vowel /e/ is realized as [je] optionally in syllable-initial position (e.g., [jema]~[ema] /ema/ ‘the Yaeyama region’). The vowel /i/ only follows /s/, /z/, and /c/ (e.g., [amisina] /amisina/ ‘sugar cane’, [mizi] /mizi/ ‘water’, [ku:natsiju] /kuunaciyu/ ‘Wishing for a good harvest in

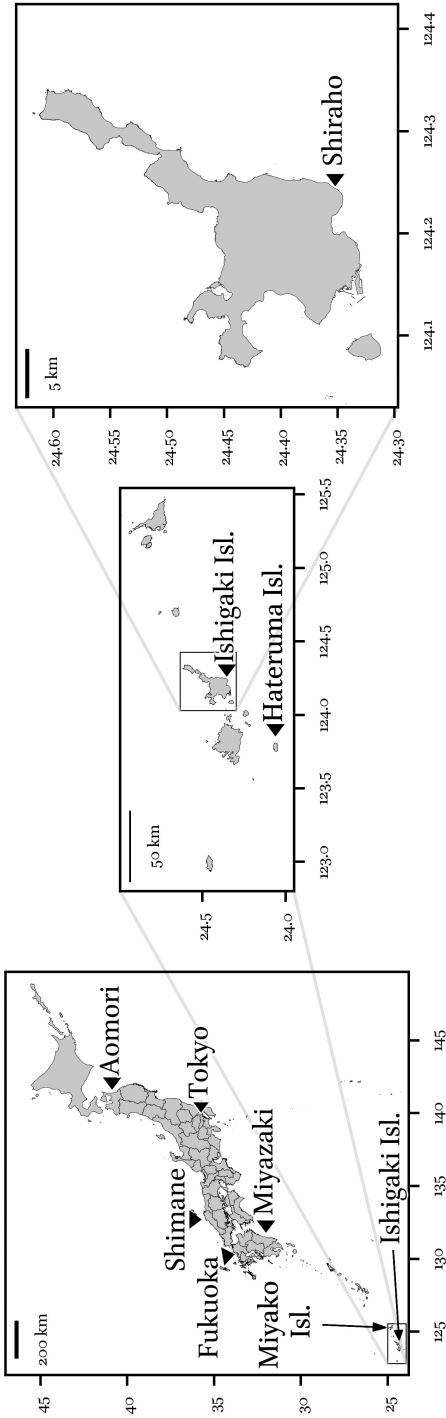


FIGURE 6.1 The location of Shiraho

the coming year'). Shirahō seems to make a distinction between long and short vowels (e.g., [tʲʌ̃ru] /turu/ 'bird' vs. [tu:ru:] /tuuru/ 'lamp'), but sometimes the distinction becomes blurred (e.g., [pitu]~[pitu:] /pitu/ 'people'). Diphthongs are descending diphthongs (e.g., /baima/ '1PL.EXCL', /kui/ 'voice', /yoi/ 'celebration') and two ascending diphthongs (e.g., /muanu/ '(x) does not think' and /uencyu/ 'mouse').

Shirahō has fifteen consonants (/p, b, t, d, k, g, c, s, z, f, h, m, ŋ, n, r/) and two glides (/w, y/). As with other Yaeyaman dialects, aspiration is prominent in Shirahō. Aspiration occurs where the word starts with a voiceless obstruent. Because of aspiration, following vowels and sonorant consonants (i.e., /n, m, r/) are devoiced (e.g., [s̺̥nu] /sinu/ 'yesterday', [tʲʌ̺̥̃ru] /turu/ 'bird'), but this is not a phonologically distinctive feature. However, the voiceless nasal dental consonant /ŋ̺̥/ and voiced consonant /n/ contrast in the word-initial position (e.g., [ŋ̺̥da] /ŋ̺̥da/ 'why' and [nda] /nda/ 'appear (infinitive form)'). The consonant /h/ has allophones according to which vowel follows it: [ç] before the vowel /i/, [φ] before the vowel /u/, and [h] in elsewhere. In intervocalic position, /h/ sometimes becomes voiced or drops (e.g., [araφu]~[arahu]~[arau] /arahu/ 'wash'). The consonant /f/ always appears as geminate (e.g., [φφa] /ffa/ 'saddle', [nuφφi] /nuffi/ 'sleep (imperative form)'). It may be possible to analyze [φφ] as /hh/, but I do not adopt this analysis. The consonant /c/ is the voiceless affricate [ts]. The consonant /r/ is pronounced as [ɾ].

## 2.2 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

The syllable structure in Shirahō is (#(C<sub>1</sub>) C<sub>2</sub>) (G) V<sub>1</sub> (V<sub>2</sub>) (C<sub>3</sub>).<sup>1</sup> There is an obligatory vowel (V<sub>1</sub>), but other slots are optional. C<sub>1</sub> can be filled by /s/, /f/, /m/, and /n/ only in word initial position (e.g., /ssu/ 'cut', /ffu/ 'fall', /mma/ 'horse', and /nta/ 'mud'). When /n/ fills C<sub>1</sub>, it becomes a homorganic nasal with C<sub>2</sub> (e.g., [nta] /nta/ 'mud' vs. [ŋgo] /ngo/ 'go'). The /G/ slot is filled by /w/ or /y/. /w/ precedes only /a/. While other Yaeyaman dialects have sequences like [k<sup>w</sup>a:] /kwaa/ 'pedal' (Funauki dialect (Urabe 2018), Shirahō has labialized consonants only in [mikk<sup>w</sup>a] /mikkwa/ 'blind person'. /y/ follows /p, b, c, s, z, k/ and palatalizes the preceding consonant. /y/ precedes only /u, o, a/. V<sub>2</sub> can be occupied by /i/, /e/, /a/, or a vowel that is identical to V<sub>1</sub>. C<sub>3</sub> can be filled by a voiceless obstruent in word-medial position and /n/ in word-medial and -final positions. In word-medial position, geminate consonants consist of C<sub>3</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> of the onset of the next syllable. C<sub>3</sub> is always the same as C<sub>2</sub> in the following syllable (e.g., /sip.pe/ (C<sub>2</sub>VC<sub>3</sub>.C<sub>2</sub>V) 'much').

1 C: consonant, G, glide, V: vowel.

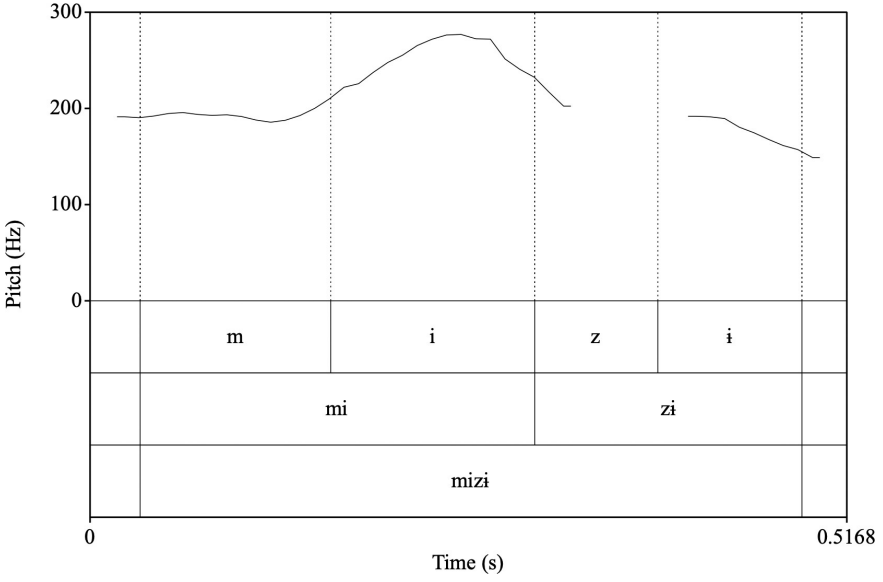


FIGURE 6.2 Falling-1: /mizi/ 'water'

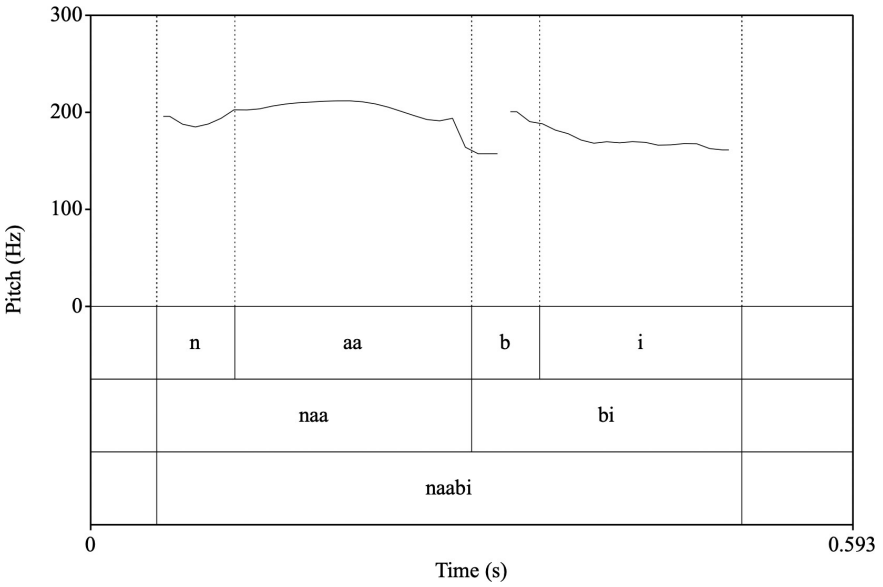


FIGURE 6.3 Falling-2: /nabi/ 'pan'

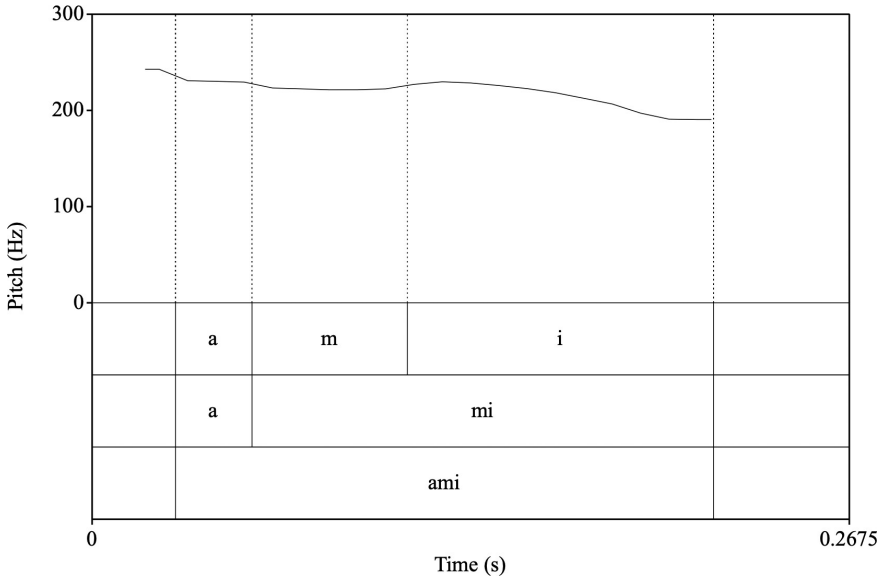


FIGURE 6.4 Level: /ami/ 'rain'

### 2.3 *Mora*

Regarding syllable structure,  $V_1$ ,  $V_2$ ,  $C_1$ ,  $C_3$  each carry a mora (e.g., *suu* ( $CV_1V_2/2$  morae) 'tide', *ffa* ( $C_1C_2V_1/2$  morae) 'saddle', *kan* ( $C_2V_1C_3/2$  morae) 'crab'). In this schema, it is expected that the syllable in Shiraho can carry a maximum of four morae, but this is not attested.

### 2.4 *Word-Level Prosody*

Shiraho has a three-pattern pitch accent system that is determined lexically (Nakagawa and Celik 2019). The accent patterns are shown in figures 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4. Falling-1 is a steep falling pattern in which pitch falls around the second syllable. Falling-2 is a slightly falling pattern in which the pitch falls around the second syllable, but the degree of fall in pitch is lower than Falling-1. The level pattern keeps a high pitch.

According to Nakagawa and Celik (2019), the falling-2 and level patterns are in complementary distribution; words with the falling-2 pattern have an initial voiced consonant, and words with the level pattern begin with a vowel or voiceless consonant.

In compound nouns, the tonal pattern is determined by that of the first constituent.

- (171) a. Falling-1: /nisi+kaci/ ‘north wind’ (F<sub>1</sub>+F<sub>1</sub>), /mizi+maffa/ ‘water pillow’ (F<sub>1</sub>+F<sub>2</sub>), /mizi+uki/ ‘water bucket’ (F<sub>1</sub>+L),  
 b. Falling-2: /yamatu+pitu/ ‘Japanese’ (F<sub>2</sub>+F<sub>1</sub>), /macci+yama/ ‘pine-clad hill’ (F<sub>2</sub>+F<sub>2</sub>), /macci+kii/ ‘pine tree’ (F<sub>2</sub>+L),  
 c. Level: /pari+sigutu/ ‘needle work’ (L+F<sub>1</sub>), /aba+nabi/ ‘oil pan’ (L+F<sub>2</sub>), /kii+usi/ ‘mill made from wood’ (L+L),

### 2.5 Intonation

Intonation in Shiraho distinguishes sentence types: a rising intonation in polar questions, falling in content questions, falling sharply in imperatives, and flat in declaratives. Examples of each sentence type are shown in §11.1. Intonation changes depending on whether the sentence is with or without final particles. For example, the intonation falls sharply in imperatives (e.g., *tupi!* ‘Fry!’), but not when *-ba* is attached to imperative form (e.g., *tupiba!* ‘Fry!’).

## 3 Descriptive Units

### 3.1 Morphological Units

In this paper, I distinguish three morphological units: word, affix, and clitic. The word has a fixed order within it, so root and affixes are arranged in order. For example, within lexical nouns the diminutive suffix *-ntama* and the plural suffix *-nda* are arranged in the order root-diminutive-plural (e.g., *maya-ntama-nda* (cat-DIM-PL) ‘kittens’). Affixes and clitics differ in their distribution. While an affix is included within a word, a clitic is attached to a phrase. For example, *≠obi* (only) is attached to a verbal phrase, not a single word.

- (172) *miri*      *hiiruobi*  
 mir-i      hiir-u≠obi  
 look-INF BEN-NPST≠only  
 ‘(S/he) just takes care of me.’

In Shiraho, suffixes and enclitics are abundant, but prefixes and proclitics are rare. *bii-* ‘male’ and *mii-* ‘female’ are the only prefixes found in Shiraho (e.g., *bii-turu* ‘a cock’).<sup>2</sup> No proclitics are found. As with other Japonic languages, suffixes abound in Shiraho.

<sup>2</sup> There may be more prefixes in Shiraho, but they are not found in my database. See Miyagi et al. (2003) which listed prefixes in the Sika dialect (e.g., *maa-* ‘genuine’).

### 3.2 *Word Class*

Shirahō distinguishes six word classes based on syntactic and morphological criteria. Nouns fill the head of the NP. Verb inflects for tense and mood and fills the predicate of the clause. Adjectives take adjectivalizer suffixes *-har/-sar/-har-* and are accompanied by a negative verb to encode negation. Adverbs modify verbal predicates. Adnominals can only be the modifier of an NP. Particles are always attached to phrases and clauses.

### 3.3 *Grammatical Relations*

Subject is marked with the nominative marker *ɲnu* and tends to be topicalized with the topic marker *ɲya* in narrative data. The object appears without markers, but is marked with *ɲyu* or *ɲba* in narrative converbal clauses. The indirect object is marked with the dative marker *ɲgo*. In (173), the subject (*okkan* ‘mother’) is marked with *ɲnu* and the object (*kee* ‘gruel’) is not overtly marked.

- (173) *bainu okkanu meenu ii kee takitayoo ...*  
*baiɲnu okkanɲnu meeɲnu ii kee tak-itaɲyoo*  
 1PL.EXCL-GEN motherɲNOM riceɲGEN meal gruel boil-SEQɲSFP  
 ‘Our mother cooked rice.’

Shirahō has a S(X)OV and modifier-head word order. It has a nominative-accusative alignment system. Nominative is marked with *ɲnu* and accusative is without markers basically and is marked with *ɲyu* or *ɲba* depending on the clause type. Occasionally intransitive subjects are marked with *ɲya* or *ɲba*. The same behavior of *ɲyu* and *ɲba* is reported in the literature on other dialects (e.g., Harada (2015)), but details are unclear.

## 4 *Nominals*

Nominals include personal and reflexive pronouns (§ 4.1), lexical nouns (§ 4.2), numeral nouns (§ 4.3), and demonstrative nouns (§ 8.1).

### 4.1 *Pronouns*

The personal pronouns are summarized in Table 6.1. The first- and second-person singular have alternative forms depending on the case marking. *baa/daa* are the forms for the nominative/genitive (see (187a) and (199a)), while *banu/danu* appear in other circumstances.

Plural forms do not have alternative forms based on grammatical relations as their singular counterparts do. The first-person plural distinguishes be-

TABLE 6.1 Pronouns

	SG	PL
First	<i>baa/banu</i>	EXCL: <i>baima, banda</i> /INCL: <i>beema</i>
Second	<i>daa/danu</i>	<i>deema</i>
Third	<i>usita</i>	<i>usitanda</i>

tween inclusive and exclusive. *baima* is the basic exclusive form and *banda* is rarely used.

- (174) a. *beema keera.*  
*beema keer-a*  
 1PL.INCL return-VOL  
 'Let's go home.'
- b. *baima pitegiya deema piteginka gumahadaraa.*  
*baima pitegi-ya deema pitegi-nka guma-ha-daraa*  
 1PL.EXCL field-TOP 2SG field-COMP small-ADJ-SFP  
 'Our field is smaller than yours.'
- c. *unu iiya bandadu kaki sikeru.*  
*unu ii-ya banda-du kak-i sik-er-u*  
 this picture-TOP 1PL.EXCL-FOC write-INF put-PRF-NPST  
 'This picture is what we drew.'

The third-person pronouns *usita* (singular) and *usita-nda* (plural) refer to a person or people who is/are neither the speaker nor the addressee. While speakers of Shiraho used this form in our elicitation sessions, these forms never appeared in narrative and conversation data. In narrative and conversational data, the demonstrative pronouns (*kuri* and *uri*) are used to refer to non-participants.

- (175) a. *usitasi sungara.*  
*usita-si s-u-n-gara*  
 3-INS do-NPST-IND-CONJ  
 'S/he will do it by himself/herself.'

- b. *usitandanu sungara.*  
 usita-nda=nu s-u-n=gara  
 3-PL>NOM do-NPST-IND>CONJ  
 'They will do it.'

The reflexive pronoun, which takes the subject NP as its antecedent, is *duu*. This pronoun is derived from *duu* 'body'.

- (176) *tarooya duunu pitegi duusi keesero.*  
 taroo=ya duu=nu pitegi duu=si kees-er-Ø-o  
 Taroo>TOP REFL>GEN field REFL>INS cultivate-PROG-NPST-IND  
 'Taroo (proper name) is cultivating his field by himself.'

#### 4.2 Lexical Nouns

Lexical nouns take suffixes: the diminutive suffix *-ntama*, the plural suffix *-nda*, and the location suffix *-nta*. The diminutive suffix refers to a young child and small animals (e.g., *yarabi-ntama* 'a child', *maya-ntama* 'a kitty'). The plural suffix *-nda* denotes associative plural with proper nouns (e.g., *hanako-nda* 'Hanako and others') and additive plural with other human, animal, and non-animate nouns (e.g., *sara-nda* 'dishes'). The location suffix *-nta* is attached to directional nouns (e.g., *me-nta* 'the front side', *nisya-nta* 'the north side').

#### 4.3 Numerals

Numerals consist of a numeral root and classifier suffix. Shiraho has the native set shared among Japonic languages up to ten and uses Sino-Japanese roots to count months (e.g., *ici-gacu* 'January') or for higher numbers. Classifier suffixes take on different forms depending on what is counted. So far five classifiers have been identified: *-ci* for general nouns, *-gara* for non-human animate nouns, *-tari* for humans, *-giburi* for buildings, and *-siki* for months. Table 6.2 shows a list of numeral roots and word forms to count general nouns and human beings.

TABLE 6.2 Numerals

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine
Roots	<i>piti-</i>	<i>huta-</i>	<i>mii-</i>	<i>yuu-</i>	<i>ici-</i>	<i>nn-</i>	<i>nana-</i>	<i>yaa-</i>	<i>kukunu-</i>
General	<i>piti-ci</i>	<i>huta-ci</i>	<i>mii-ci</i>	<i>yuu-ci</i>	<i>ici-ci</i>	<i>nn-ci</i>	<i>nana-ci</i>	<i>yaa-ci</i>	<i>kukunu-ci</i>
Human	<i>pituri</i>	<i>hutari</i>	<i>mi-tari</i>	<i>yu-tari</i>					

TABLE 6.3 The inflectional paradigm of finite verbs

	Class 1 (e.g., <i>tur-</i> 'take')	Class 2 (e.g., <i>ugi-/ugir-</i> 'awaken')	Class 3 ( <i>k-</i> 'come')
NPST	<i>tur-u</i>	<i>ugir-u</i>	<i>k-u</i>
NEG NPST	<i>tur-an-u</i>	<i>ugir-an-u/ug-un-u</i>	<i>k-un-u</i>
PST	<i>tur-u-ta</i>	<i>ugir-u-ta/ugi-ta</i>	<i>k-u-ta</i>
NEG PST	<i>tur-an-a-tta</i>	<i>ugir-an-a-tta</i>	<i>k-un-a-tta</i>
NPST-IND	<i>tur-u-n</i>	<i>ugir-u-n</i>	<i>k-u-n</i>
PST-IND	( <i>tur-u-ta-n</i> )	( <i>ugi-ta-n</i> )	<i>k-u-ta-n</i>
NPST-IND	<i>tur-∅-o</i>	<i>ugir-∅-o</i>	<i>k-∅-o</i>
PST-IND	( <i>tur-u-tar-o</i> )	( <i>ugi-tar-o</i> )	<i>k-u-tar-o</i>
VOL	<i>tur-a</i>	<i>ug-a</i>	<i>k-a</i>
IMP	<i>tur-i</i>	<i>ugir-i</i>	<i>k-u</i>
PROH	<i>tur-una</i>	<i>ugir-una</i>	<i>k-una</i>

## 5 Verbs

### 5.1 *Inflectional Morphology*

Tables 6.3 and 6.4 show the inflectional paradigm and types of stem-ending phonemes respectively. Table 6.3 shows inflectional paradigm of finite verbs. Table 6.4 lists verb stems with different phonemes which are found in Shiraho. Parenthesized forms are unattested, but expected based on the forms of other verbs.

As shown in Table 6.3, finite endings include tense (non-past *-u, -∅* / past *-ta*), indicative (*-n/-o*), volitional (*-a*), imperative (*-i/-u*), and prohibitive (*-una*). *-∅* is postulated in non-past indicative forms because there is a contrast between the past with an overt tense suffix (e.g., *kutaro*) and the non-past (e.g., *ko*). While indicatives are marked for tense and polarity, the other forms are not. Verbal stems in Shiraho are divided into three types based on (i) the availability of stem alternation (only class 2), (ii) negative suffix *-an* (class 1, optionally class 2) versus *-un* (class 3, optionally class 2), and (iii) imperative suffix *-i* (classes 1 and 2)/*-u* (only class 3). Class 3 contains only *k-* 'come'. Class 1 includes verbs which show regular inflection. Class 2 verbs are basically those that end in a final *-i* or *-e* (e.g., *kee-/keer-* 'return').

Class 2 stems are gradually taking an *r*-ending stem. For example, *mi-* 'look' historically belonged to class 2, but it has changed into the *r*-ending stem *mir-* and now belongs to class 1 in Shiraho.

TABLE 6.4 Inflectional paradigm of class 1 and 2 verb roots with different final phonemes

	NPST	NEG NPST	PST	VOL	IMP
<i>mu-</i> 'think'	<i>mu-u</i>	<i>mu-an-u</i> [mo:nu]	<i>mu-u-ta</i>	<i>mu-a</i> [mo:]	<i>mu-i</i>
<i>ha-</i> 'eat'	<i>ha-u</i> [ho:]	<i>ha-an-u</i>	<i>ha-u-ta</i> [ho:ta]	<i>ha-a</i>	<i>ha-i</i> [he:]
<i>tup-</i> 'fly'	<i>tup-u</i>	<i>tup-an-u</i>	( <i>tup-u-ta</i> )	<i>tup-a</i>	<i>tup-i</i>
<i>yub-</i> 'call'	<i>yub-u</i>	<i>yub-an-u</i>	( <i>yub-u-ta</i> )	<i>yub-a</i>	<i>yub-i</i>
<i>nuff-</i> 'sleep'	<i>nuff-u</i>	<i>nuff-an-u</i>	<i>nuff-u-ta</i>	<i>nuff-a</i>	<i>nuff-i</i>
<i>yum-</i> 'read'	<i>yum-u</i>	<i>yum-an-u</i>	<i>yum-u-ta</i>	<i>yum-a</i>	<i>yum-i</i>
<i>tat-</i> 'stand'	<i>tac-u</i>	<i>tat-an-u</i>	( <i>tac-u-ta</i> )	<i>tat-a</i>	<i>tac-i</i>
<i>muc-</i> 'take'	<i>muc-u</i>	<i>muc-an-u</i>	( <i>muc-u-ta</i> )	<i>muc-a</i>	<i>muc-i</i>
<i>ss-</i> 'wear'	<i>ss-u</i>	<i>ss-an-u</i>	<i>ss-u-ta</i>	<i>ss-a</i>	<i>ss-i</i>
<i>en-</i> 'say'	<i>en-u</i>	<i>en-an-u</i>	<i>en-ta</i>	<i>en-a</i>	<i>en-i</i>
<i>mir-</i> 'look'	<i>mir-u</i>	<i>mir-an-u</i>	<i>mir-u-ta</i>	<i>mir-a</i>	<i>mir-i</i>
<i>kak-</i> 'write'	<i>kak-u</i>	<i>kak-an-u</i>	<i>kak-u-ta</i>	<i>kak-a</i>	<i>kak-i</i>
<i>ng-</i> 'go'	<i>ng-u</i>	<i>ng-an-u</i>	<i>ng-u-ta</i>	<i>ng-a</i>	<i>ng-i</i>
<i>ndah-</i> 'push'	<i>ndah-u</i>	( <i>ndah-an-u</i> )	<i>ndah-u-ta</i>	<i>ndah-a</i>	<i>ndah-i</i>
<i>ugi-/ugir-</i> 'awaken'	<i>ugir-u</i>	<i>ugir-an-u</i>	<i>ugi-ta</i>	<i>ug-a</i>	<i>ugir-i</i>

Additionally, verbs have non-finite ending forms. So far four converb forms have been identified: sequential converb *-ita/-ata*, conditional converb *-(u)cyaa*, causal converb *-ikii*, and simultaneous converb *-ici* (see §12.1.2). The conditional, causal, and sequential converbs inflect for polarity. The simultaneous converb always takes an affirmative form. Infinitive forms ending in *-i/-a* function as a constituent of compounds (*yum-i+kak-i* (read-INF+write-INF) 'reading and writing', §7.1) and as a narrative converb (§12.2).

### 5.2 Derivational Morphology

There are four suffixes which form new verbal stems: two causative suffixes, *-ah* and *-sim/-simir*, the passive/potential suffix *-ar/-arir*, and the aspect suffix *-er/-ar*. These suffixes derive a new stem from the verbal root with the order verbal root-(CAUS)-(PASS)-(ASP) (e.g., *num-ah-ar-atta* (drink-CAUS-PASS-SEQ) 'be made to drink', *nogor-ar-er-ta* (survive-CAP-PRF-PST) 'was able to survive').

### 5.3 Existential, Stative and Copula

Existential verbs denote the existence of the subject NP and are differentiated by the animacy of the subject NP. Copular verbs are used in equative con-

TABLE 6.5 Existential, stative and copula inflection

	<i>bur-/bu-</i> exist (animate)	<i>ar-</i> exist (non-animate)	<i>neen-</i> negative stative	<i>yar-</i> copula
NPST	<i>bu-u/bur-u</i>	<i>ar-u</i>		<i>yar-u</i>
NEG-NPST	<i>bur-an-u</i>		<i>neen-u</i>	<i>ar-an-u</i>
PST	<i>bu-ta</i>	<i>at-ta/ar-u-ta</i>		<i>yat-ta</i>
NEG-PST	<i>bur-an-atta</i>		<i>neen-a-tta</i>	<i>ar-an-atta-n</i>
NPST-IND	<i>bu-∅-n</i>	<i>ar-u-n/a-∅-n</i>		<i>yar-u-n</i>
NEG-NPST-IND			<i>neen-u-n</i>	
PST-IND	( <i>bu-ta-n</i> )	( <i>at-ta-n/ar-u-ta-n</i> )		
NPST-IND	<i>bur-∅-o</i>	<i>ar-∅-o</i>		<i>yar-∅-o</i>
NEG-NPST-IND			<i>neen-∅-o</i>	
PST-IND	( <i>bu-tar-o</i> )	( <i>at-tar-o/ar-u-tar-o</i> )		<i>yat-tar-o</i>

structions. The inflectional paradigm of existential, stative, and copular verbs is shown in Table 6.5. Parenthesized forms are unattested, but expected based on the forms of other verbs. The non-animate existential verb has suppletive form *neen-* for negation. /r/ often assimilates to [t] when the past tense suffix follows and drops when indicative suffix *-n* follows. These are similar to the inflectional paradigm of *tur-* in Table 6.3, but with some differences: *bur-* has the alternative stem *bu-* for the non-past and past tense. The non-past tense suffix *-∅* appears in indicative forms.

## 6 Adjectival Expressions

In Shiraho, roots denoting property concepts cannot function as a grammatical word on their own. They require suffixation, reduplication, compounding, or the presence of the copular verb. In this section, ‘inflectional adjectives’ refer to adjectival stems that consist of a root and an adjectivalizer. The copular verb must accompany non-inflectional adjectives.

### 6.1 Inflectional Adjectives

Inflectional adjectives consist of a property concept root, adjectivalizer (*-har/-sar/-syar*), and inflectional suffixes. Inflectional adjectives share their inflectional paradigm with the existential verb *ar-*, as is shown in Table 6.6. This is because inflectional adjectives are derived using the nominalizer *\*-sa* and the

TABLE 6.6 Inflectional adjectives

	<i>aca-har-</i> (hot)	<i>mi-syar-</i> (good)	<i>pee-sar-</i> (fast)	cf. <i>ar-</i> (existential verb)
NPST	<i>aca-ha</i>	<i>mi-sya</i>	<i>pee-sa</i>	<i>ar-u</i>
PST	<i>aca-hat-ta</i>	<i>mi-syat-ta</i>	<i>pee-sat-ta</i>	<i>at-ta/ar-u-ta</i>
NPST-IND	<i>aca-har-∅-n</i>	<i>mi-syar-∅-n</i>	<i>pee-sar-∅-n</i>	<i>ar-u-n/a-∅-n</i>
PST-IND	<i>aca-hat-ta-n</i>	<i>mi-syat-ta-n</i>	<i>pee-sat-ta-n</i>	( <i>at-ta-n</i> )
NPST-IND	<i>aca-har-∅-o</i>	<i>mi-syar-∅-o</i>	<i>pee-sar-∅-o</i>	<i>ar-∅-o</i>
PST-IND	( <i>aca-hat-tar-o</i> )	<i>mi-syat-tar-o</i>	<i>pee-sat-tar-o</i>	( <i>at-tar-o</i> )

existential verb *ar-* (Karimata 2015). The three adjectivalizers *-har-/-sar-/-syar-* are allomorphs, and the choice between them is determined by the final vowel of the preceding root: *-sya* after *i-* or *e-*, *-sa* after a long vowel, and *-ha* elsewhere. /r/ assimilates to [t] when the past suffix follows and drops in the non-past forms or in indicative *-n* forms.

Inflectional adjectives and verbs differ in how negation is expressed. While verbs express negation through suffixation, inflectional adjectives are accompanied by the negative stative verb *neen-* (see §11.5). Inflectional adjectives have attributive (177a) and predicative functions (177b).

(177) a. *bagaharu*      *munu*  
           *baga-har-u*      *people*  
           young-ADJ-NPST *people*  
           ‘Young people’

b. *inagandu*      *tuusarikii ...*  
           *inaga-n=du*      *tuu-sar-ikii*  
           sea=NOM=FOC *far-ADJ-CSL*  
           ‘Because the sea is far from here, ...’

## 6.2 *Non-inflectional Adjectives*

Almost all adjectives belong to the inflectional category, and there is only one root that can be categorized as a non-inflectional adjective: *magi* ‘big’. This root behaves like a noun, i.e., it takes the copular verb to function as the predicate (178a). In attributive function, there are two ways in which *magi* functions as a modifier of the head of NP: (i) reduplication plus genitive *=nu* (178b) and (ii) compounding (e.g., *magi+paci* (big+pot) ‘a big pot’).

- (178) a. *tanabura mata magi arungara ...*  
 tanabura mata magi ar-u-n-gara  
 mud.snail also big exist-NPST-IND≠CONJ  
 'Mud snails are big, so ...'
- b. *magimagu nu munu*  
 magi~magi≠nu munu  
 big~RED≠GEN thing  
 'big one'

## 7 Class-Changing Derivations

### 7.1 Nominalization

Nominalization occurs through suffixation. Verbs take infinitive suffixes *-i* (classes 1, 3) or *-a* (class 2). Nominalized verbs are found in compound nouns (e.g., *asa+nuff-i* (morning+sleep-INF) 'oversleeping', *yum-i+kak-i* (read-INF+write-INF) 'reading and writing'). In the case of adjectives, root + adjectivalizer *-ha/-sa/-sya* function as nouns to nominalize adjectives (e.g., *acaha* 'heat, warmth'). Adjectival roots may comprise a part of compound nouns (e.g., *buu+zara* 'large plate').

### 7.2 Verbalization

There is no way to derive verbs from nouns and adjectives by affixation. For this function, there is a light verb construction in which nouns appear with the light verb *s-* (do) as in (179).

- (179) *suu pisucyaa mata asarago sii ...*  
 suu pis-ucyaa mata asarago s-i  
 tide ebb-COND again clamming do-INF  
 'When the tide is on the ebb, (we) go clamming, and ...'

### 7.3 Adjectivalization

There are four suffixes which derive adjectives from verbs: *-igisyar-* 'seem to do' (*toor-igisyar-Ø-o* 'seems to fall down'), *-yassar-* 'easy to do' (*sike-jassa* 'easy to use'), *-ingurisyar-* 'difficult to do' (e.g., *en-ingurisyaa* 'difficult to say'), and *-bahar-/bahar-* 'want to do' (e.g., *ibi-bahar-Ø-o* (plant-DES-NPST-IND) 'want(s) to plant'). Inflectional morphology of these suffixes is the same with the inflectional adjectives (§ 6.1). There is no way to derive adjectives from nouns.

## 8 Demonstratives and Interrogatives

### 8.1 *Demonstratives*

Demonstratives are summarized in Table 6.7. Shirahō has three series: the *ku*-series referring to proximate, the *ka*-series for distal, and the *u*-series. While the distinction between the *ku*- and *ka*-series is clear, the distinction between *u*- and the others is unclear in their deictic-pronoun usage. The same lack of clarity in the function of the *u*-series is reported not only on the literature of other Yaeyaman dialects, but also in the literature on other Ryukyuan languages (Uchima 1984). In addition to the demonstrative *kuma/uma/kama* locatives in Table 6.7, there is another locative series *moo, n*, and *ha*. The difference between the two series of demonstrative locatives is unclear.

TABLE 6.7 Demonstratives

	<i>ku</i> -series	<i>u</i> -series	<i>ka</i> -series
Things or person	<i>kuri</i>	<i>uri</i>	<i>kari</i>
Adnominal	<i>kunu</i>	<i>unu</i>	<i>kanu</i>
Location	<i>kuma</i>	<i>uma</i>	<i>kama</i>

### 8.2 *Interrogatives and Indefinites*

Table 6.8 summarizes interrogatives and indefinites in Shirahō. The number interrogative *uu-* is a bound morpheme which has to attach to a classifier (see § 4.3). Indefinite forms of number and reason interrogative are lacking in my data.

TABLE 6.8 Interrogative morphemes

	Thing	Person	Place	Time	Number	Reason
Interrogatives	<i>nuu</i> 'what'	<i>taa/taima</i> 'who(SG/PL)'	<i>zaa</i> 'where'	<i>ici</i> 'when'	<i>uu-</i> 'how many'	<i>nda</i> 'why'
Indefinites	<i>nundara</i> 'somewhat'	<i>tandara</i> 'someone'	<i>zandara</i> 'somewhere'	<i>icika</i> 'someday'		

## 9 Noun Phrase

Noun phrases behave as arguments of the predicate in the clause. A noun phrase obligatorily has a head and may optionally have a modifier. The head is occupied by pronouns, demonstratives, lexical nouns, numerals, or formal nouns (§9.1). The modifier is filled by NP with a genitive marker, an adnominal, or adnominal clauses (§9.2).

### 9.1 *The Head*

The head is filled with lexical nouns (180a), numerals (180b), and formal nouns (180c). Formal nouns have abstract meanings, and fill the head of NPs. They have to be accompanied by one or more modifiers. So far, seven formal nouns have been identified in Shiraho: *basu* ‘time’, *kami* ‘period’, *kutu* ‘thing’, *munu* ‘thing’, *kata* ‘place’, *tami* ‘purpose’, and *kuti* ‘manner’.

- (180) a. *uwanu suuyoo saikoo mmahattaro.*  
 uwa<sub>≠</sub>nu suu<sub>≠</sub>yoo saikoo mma-ha-ttar-o  
 pig<sub>≠</sub>GEN soup<sub>≠</sub>SFP best tasty-ADJ-PST-IND  
 ‘Pork soup was the best.’

- b. *hutarigo ssabomuniba narahu kutoo ...*  
 hutari<sub>≠</sub>go ssabo+muni<sub>≠</sub>ba narah-u kutu<sub>≠</sub>ya  
 two<sub>≠</sub>DAT Shiraho+language<sub>≠</sub>ACC teach-NPST thing<sub>≠</sub>TOP  
 ‘To teach Shiraho to both of you’

- c. *unu panayu ibiru katayu kimira.*  
 unu pana<sub>≠</sub>yu ibir-u kata<sub>≠</sub>yu kimir-a  
 this flower<sub>≠</sub>ACC plant-NPST place<sub>≠</sub>ACC decide-VOL  
 ‘Let’s decide where we plant this flower.’

### 9.2 *The Modifier*

The modifier slot of an NP can be occupied by an NP with the genitive marker *≠nu* (181), an adnominal, or an adnominal clause (182). With regard to the genitive NP, the semantic relation between the modifier and the head ranges widely. However, unlike other Japonic languages, Shiraho modifiers cannot express an appositional relation (181b).

- (181) a. *ssabunu hikoozyoo*  
 ssabu<sub>≠</sub>nu hikoozyoo  
 Shiraho<sub>≠</sub>GEN airport  
 ‘Shiraho Airport’

- b. *sinsiinu*      *maa*  
*sinsii=nu*      *maa*  
 teacher=GEN grandchild  
 'OK The teacher's grandchild / \*The grandchild who teaches in a school'

An adnominal can only occur in the modifier slot. The members of this category are few: *yunu* 'same' (e.g., *yunu munu* 'the same thing'), *yana* 'unpleasant' (e.g., *yana kutu* 'an unpleasant thing'), and demonstrative adnominals (§8.1). An adnominal clause precedes its head. Adnominal clauses can be relative clauses (182a), where the head noun corresponds to an argument or adjunct position inside the clause, or as a non-relative clause (182b), in which the head noun is not interpreted as an argument or adjunct. The head noun can correspond to the subject (182a) or object in the relative clause.

- (182) a. *boorago*      *nguta*      *pitu*  
 boora=go      ng-u-ta      pitu  
 Mt.Hoora=DAT go-THM-PST person  
 'A person who went to Mt. Hoora'
- b. *tamunu*      *bareru*      *utu*      *sikarirusaa.*  
 tamunu      bar-er-u      utu      sik-arir-u=saa  
 fire.wood split-PROG-NPST sound hear-CAP-NPST=SFP  
 'I hear the sound of chopping firewood.'

### 9.3 Case and Other Role Marking

#### 9.3.1 Case Marking

Table 6.9 lists the case markers in Shiraho. S, A, O in Table 6.9 refer to the Subject of intransitive verb, Agent of a transitive verb, and Object of a transitive verb respectively. The nominative/genitive marker *=nu* attaches to demonstratives, proper names, human, animal, and non-animate nouns (see §4.1 about personal pronouns). The accusative markers *=yu* and *=ba* attach to the object of transitive verbs, mainly in subordinate clauses. Of the three allative markers, *=kaci* and *=gaci* have restrictions on the nouns to which they attach: *=kaci* only attaches to *isasu* 'Ishigaki city' and *=gaci* only to *hii* 'house'. *=ci* is the general allative marker attaches to other nouns.

#### 9.4 Other Marking

Shiraho employs a topic marker, a focus marker, and limiters. These attach to NP or NPs with a case marker. The topic marker and the focus marker will be

TABLE 6.9 Case markers

Marking	Label	Main roles
<i>≠nu</i>	Nominative/Genitive	S, A, and genitive function
<i>≠yu/≠ba</i>	Accusative	O, (S)
<i>≠go</i>	Dative	recipient, beneficiary, destination
<i>≠na</i>	Locative	location, time
<i>≠ci/≠kaci/≠gaci</i>	Allative	direction
<i>≠si</i>	Instrumental	instrument
<i>≠gara</i>	Ablative	a point of departure, path, moving means
<i>≠yakka</i>	Comparative	standard of comparison
<i>≠tu</i>	Comitative	addition, companion
<i>≠madi</i>	Terminative	destination

discussed in § 11.7. The limiter markers indicate addition (183a–183b), limitation (183c–183d), and approximation (183e). The addition markers *≠yun* and *≠n* are differentiated in terms of their distribution. *≠yun* attaches only to subjects and objects (183a), while *≠n* attaches to arguments including subjects and objects (187b), to adjuncts, and to non-nominal phrases (214).

(183) a. Addition (*≠yun*)

*enpicu≠yun arun?*  
 enpicu≠yun ar-u-n  
 pencil≠ADD exist-NPST-IND  
 'Are there pencils too?'

b. Addition (*≠n*)

*urigon hiriba.*  
 uri≠go-n hir-i≠ba  
 this≠DAT≠ADD give-IMP≠SFP  
 'Please give (it) to him/her too.'

c. Limitation (*≠obi*)

*yuruobee meenu ii.*  
 yuru≠obi≠ya mee≠nu ii  
 night≠only≠TOP rice≠GEN meal  
 '(We ate) rice only at night.'

d. Limitation (*≠kaasi*)

*naciya amikaasi ffi.*  
*naci=ya ami=kaasi ff-i*  
 summer=TOP rain=only fall-INF  
 'It rained all summer.'

e. Approximation (*≠bagara*)

*teegee icizikanbagara kakaren.*  
*teegee icizikan=bagara kakar-er-∅-n*  
 usually one.hour=about cost-PRF-NPST-IND  
 'It usually takes about one hour.'

## 10 Predicate Phrase

## 10.1 Verbal Predication

The verbal predicate consists of one lexical verb and optionally an auxiliary verb. The minimal verbal predicate consists of only one lexical verb carrying the inflection by itself as in (184a). When the predicate is a compound comprising verb stems, the last constituent carries the inflection as in (184b). In the case of the auxiliary construction, the auxiliary verb carries the inflection as in (184c).

(184) a. *kurumayu usiba.*

*kuruma=yu us-i=ba*  
 car=ACC push-IMP=SGP  
 'Push the car!'

b. *kiiyu usitoosi.*

*kii=yu us-i+toos-i*  
 tree=ACC push-INF+knock.down-IMP  
 'Push down the tree!'

c. *kagonda amidu oru.*

*kago-nda am-i=du or-u*  
 basket-PL knit-INF=FOC PROG.HON-NPST  
 '(A superior) is knitting baskets.'

Table 6.10 shows the list of auxiliary verbs in Shiraho. Examples of aspectual auxiliaries will be given in § 11.6.

TABLE 6.10 Auxiliary verbs

	Stem	Lexical meaning
Progressive	<i>bir-</i>	'sit'
Habitual	<i>arag-</i>	'walk'
Perfect	<i>sitir-</i>	'throw'
Perfect	<i>neen-</i>	'not exist'
Experimental	<i>mir-</i>	'look'
Preparation	<i>sik-</i>	'put'
Honorific or Honorific Progressive	<i>or-</i>	'exist (honorific)'
Benefactive	<i>hi-/hir-</i>	'give'

The honorific auxiliary verb *or-* must be used when the subject should be shown respect. Basically, the honorific verb is mandatory when the subject is older than the speaker.

- (185) *daa okanda ici nii san sii*  
 daa okan-nda ici nii san sii  
 2SG mother-PL one two three four  
*wakaroorunteni ...*  
 wakar-i+or-u-n=teni  
 know-INF+HON-NPST-IND=QUOT  
 'Mothers, do you know (numeric characters like) one, two, three and four?'

The benefactive auxiliary *hi-/hir-* indicates that the subject of the clause provides benefit to others by the subject's action as in (186).

- (186) *ututugo yumi hiyan.*  
 ututu-go yum-i hi-ar-Ø-n  
 younger.brother>DAT read-INF BEN-PRF-NPST  
 '(I've) read (a book) to (my) younger brother.'

### 10.2 Non-verbal Predication

The nominal predicate consists of NP and the copular verb *ya-*. The copular verb does not appear when the predicate is non-past, affirmative, non-focused, and in the main clause (187a). (187b) is an example where the copular verb appears in order to encode past tense.

- (187) a. *uree baa utamadoo.*  
 uri=ya baa utama=doo  
 this=TOP 1SG child=SGP  
 'S/he is my child.'
- b. *urin hoo munu yattaro.*  
 uri=n ha-u munu yar-tar-o  
 that=ADD eat-NPST thing COP-PST-IND  
 'That was also food.'

## 11 The Simple Sentence

### 11.1 Sentence Types (Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative)

There are three main sentence types in Shirahō: declarative, interrogative, and imperative. Interrogative sentences are divided into content questions that include an interrogative word and polar questions that are marked by rising intonation. Imperative sentences take the imperative form of verbs as the predicate.

- (188) a. Declarative sentence  
*sunu ssitadu gakkugo haruta.*  
 sunu ss-ita=du gaku-go har-u-ta  
 kimono wear-SEQ=FOC school=DAT go-THM-PST  
 'I wore a kimono and went to the school.'
- b. Interrogative sentence (polar question)  
*isasukacidu nguu?*  
 isasu=kaci=du ng-u  
 Ishigaki=ALL=FOC go-NPST  
 'Will you go to Ishigaki city?'
- c. Interrogative sentence (content question)  
*ure nuudu wakarū?*  
 uri=ya nuu=du wakar-u  
 that=TOP what=FOC understand-NPST  
 'Do you know what that is?'

## d. Imperative sentence

*pii huki!*

pii huk-i

pii blow-IMP

'Blow the whistle!'

11.2 *Alignment*

Shiraho has a nominative-accusative alignment system. The agent of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb are marked with the same marker *nu* (NOM), but the patient of the transitive verb appears as a bare noun, or with *yu* or *ba*.

- (189) *bainu okkanu meenu ii kee takitayoo ...*  
 bai-nu okkan-nu mee-nu ii kee tak-ita-yoo  
 1PL.EXCL>GEN mother>NOM rice>GEN meal gruel boil-SEQ>SFP  
 'Our mother cooked rice.'

- (190) *turunu tupero.*  
 turu-nu tup-er-Ø-o  
 bird>NOM fly-PROG-NPST-IND  
 'A bird is flying.'

As is reported in the literature on other Yaeyaman dialects, *yu* is occasionally attached to the subject of an intransitive verbs. What factor determines this behavior of *yu* is unclear.

- (191) *panyu nda kii ...*  
 pan-yu nd-a k-ii  
 bread>ACC appear-INF come-INF  
 'Bread appeared (in the market), and ...'

11.3 *Possession*

The possessive relation is basically expressed by the genitive marker *nu* regardless of alienability (e.g., *taroo-nu huci* 'Taroo's mouth' (inalienable) vs. *taroo-nu nii* 'Taroo's baggage' (alienable)). Shiraho has predicative possession as in (192) in which the possessor NP and the possessed NP function respectively as the subject and the direct object of the verb *muc*- 'have'.

- (192) *utamaya butu mucidaru.*  
 utama<sub>2</sub>ya butu muc-i<sub>2</sub>du+ar-u  
 child<sub>2</sub>TOP husband have-INF<sub>2</sub>FOC+exist-NPST  
 'My child has a husband.'

#### 11.4 *Valency Changing*

Shiraho has two types of valency-changing operations. One is the causative construction, in which the causer functions as the subject. The marking of the causee varies depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. In the case of a transitive verb (193a), the causee is marked with the dative case marker *go*. In the case of an intransitive verb (193b), the causee is marked with the accusative case marker *yu*.

- (193) a. *utamago asayu turahaa/ turasimira.*  
 utama<sub>2</sub>go asa<sub>2</sub>yu {tur-ah-a/ tur-asimir-a}  
 child<sub>2</sub>DAT sea.lettuce<sub>2</sub>ACC {catch-CAUS-VOL/ catch-CAUS-VOL}  
 'Let's make my child gather sea lettuce.'
- b. *unu urigara mmayu tupahiyooteni ...*  
 unu uri<sub>2</sub>gara mma<sub>2</sub>yu tup-ah-i<sub>2</sub>yoo<sub>2</sub>teni  
 FL that<sub>2</sub>ABL horse<sub>2</sub>ACC jump-CAUS-IMP<sub>2</sub>SFP<sub>2</sub>QUOT  
 'Then, let (your) horse jump.'

The other valency-changing operation is the passive construction, in which the agent is marked with the dative and the patient functions as the subject. Passivization in Shiraho, and most of Yaeyaman dialects except for the Hatoma dialect (Lawrence 2011), applies only to transitive verbs, not also to intransitive verbs as in Standard Japanese.

- (194) *banciryu tandarago turaran.*  
 banciru<sub>2</sub>yu tandara<sub>2</sub>go tur-ar-a-Ø-n  
 guava<sub>2</sub>ACC someone<sub>2</sub>DAT take-PASS-PRF-NPST-IND  
 'My guava has been stolen by someone.'

#### 11.5 *Polarity*

Negative polarity is marked overtly, but the affirmative is not. In order to express negation, verbs take the negative suffix *-an/-un* (195a). In the case of the non-animate existential verb, the suppletive verb *neen-* is used to encode negation (see (222)). *neen-* is used to express negation when the adjectival predicate (195b). In the case of nominal predicates, the copular verb takes the negative suffix (195c).

- (195) a. *moonu mmaya pitu keranoo.*  
 moo≧nu mma≧ya pitu ker-an-∅-o  
 here≧GEN horse≧TOP people kick-NEG-NPST-IND  
 'The horse belonging to this house does not kick people.'
- b. *uriya maaha neenu.*  
 uri≧ya maa-ha neen-u  
 that≧TOP tasty-ADJ NEG.STA-NPST  
 'That is not tasty.'
- c. *baa sinsiiya aranattan.*  
 baa sinsii≧ya ar-an-a-tta-n  
 1SG teacher≧TOP COP-NEG-THM-PST-IND  
 'I was not a teacher.'

## 11.6 TAM

### 11.6.1 Tense

Shiraho has a non-past /past tense system, which is expressed using verbal inflection (-u/-∅ for non-past (196a) and -ta for past (196b)). Some Yaeyaman varieties have a distinction of remoteness in the past, but Shiraho does not.

- (196) a. *amikaasi ffudoraa.*  
 ami≧kaasi ff-u≧doraa  
 rain≧only fall-NPST≧SFP  
 'It's just raining.'
- b. *sunoo ami ffutan.*  
 sunu≧ya ami ff-u-ta-n  
 yesterday≧TOP rain fall-THM-PST-IND  
 'Yesterday it rained.'

### 11.6.2 Aspect

Grammatical aspect is encoded by the verbal suffixes -ar (for class 2 verbs)/-er (for class 1 or 3 verbs) or the auxiliary verbs listed in Table 6.10. The grammatical aspect suffixes -ar/-er can be interpreted as either progressive (197a) or perfect aspect (see (174c)). The progressive and perfect interpretations are distinguished by associated pitch patterns: progressive by steep falling and resultative by high pitch (see Davis and Lau (2015) for a detailed discussion of a similar phenomenon in Miyara Yaeyaman). The progressive verb *bir-* is more restricted

in its distribution than the aspectual suffixes. It always takes the aspectual suffix *-er* in my database.

- (197) a. *mana yuudu tureroo.*  
 mana yuu>du tur-er-Ø-o  
 now fish>FOC catch-PROG-NPST-IND  
 'Now I am catching fish.'
- b. *ṅdadu nagi bireba?*  
 ṅda>du nag-i bir-er-Ø>ba  
 why>FOC cry-INF sit-PROG-NPST>SFP  
 'Why are you crying?'

*arag-* denotes habitual aspect, and in my data its subject is always an animate noun.

- (198) *piroma nuffi aragun?*  
 piroma nuff-i arag-u-n  
 daytime sleep-INF HAB-NPST-IND  
 'Do you sleep all the day?'

The perfect auxiliary verb *neen-* indicates that the speaker has regretted what happened. *sitir-* also encodes perfect and always follows transitive verbs which express a direct effect on the patient.

- (199) a. *baa basuka neenu.*  
 baa basuk-a neen-u  
 1SG forget-INF NEG.STA-NPST  
 'I have forgotten.'
- b. *kii buttagahi sitiriba!*  
 k-i buttag-ah-i sitir-i>ba  
 kick-INF roll-CAUS-INF throw.away-IMP>SFP  
 'Kick it over!'

### 11.6.3 Mood

Mood is encoded in verbal inflection, and there is an abundance of sentence-final particles which encode modality: *-haci* for presumptive, *-cyo* for hearsay.

## (200) Imperative

*piteginu husayu turi!*  
 pitegi=nu husa=yu tur-i  
 field=GEN grass=ACC weed-IMP  
 ‘Weed the garden!’

## (201) Prohabitive

*gumahanu kanya turunaa!*  
 guma-ha=nu kan=ya tur-unaa  
 small-ADN=GEN crab=TOP take-PROH  
 ‘Do not catch small crabs!’

## (202) Volitional

*piteginu husayu turaa.*  
 pitegi=nu husa=yu tur-a  
 field=GEN grass=ACC weed-VOL  
 ‘Let’s weed the field.’

## (203) Presumptive

*accaya pareruhaci.*  
 acca=yu par-er-u=haci  
 tomorrow=TOP clear-PRF-NPST=probably  
 ‘It should be going to clear up tomorrow.’

## (204) Hearsay

*duunu kurumasi haruncyoo.*  
 duu=nu kuruma=si har-u-n=cyoo  
 REFL=GEN car=INS go-NPST-IND=HSY  
 ‘He’s apparently going to go by car.’

11.7 *Information Structure and Its Formal Encodings*

Topic and focus are marked by *=ya* and *=du* respectively. The topic marker *=ya* is in a paradigmatic relationship with the nominative and accusative markers. It follows other case markers when they co-occur (e.g., *yama=go=yu* (mountain=DAT=TOP) ‘to (a/the) mountain’). The focus marker *=du* follows all case markers, and attaches to the leftmost constituent of the focus domain (Davis 2013). It denotes contrastive and information focus (Shimoji 2018). These markers are attached not only to NPs, but also non-nominal phrases (e.g., (206a) and (229)). Shiraho does not have a cleft construction which functions as a focus construction in Japanese, Northern Ryukyuan, and some Yaeyaman dialects (e.g., Lawrence (2011)).

- (205) *baa sikeru munuya bandu katazikiru.*  
 baa sik-er-u munu=ya ban=du katazikir-u  
 1SG use-PRF-ADN thing=TOP 1SG=FOC put.away-NPST  
 'It's me that puts away what I used.'

## 12 The Complex Sentence

### 12.1 Clause-Combining Strategies

There are two clause-combining strategies: coordination and subordination. Subordinate clauses are divided into three types: relative clauses (§ 9.2), adverbial clauses (§ 12.1.2), and complement clauses (§ 12.1.3).

#### 12.1.1 Coordinate Clauses

Clauses are combined using conjunctive particles: *sigā* (adversative, (206a)) or *gārā* (resultative, (206b)). Verbs in the coordinate clauses inflect separately for polarity, tense, or indicative mood.

- (206) a. *kurumayu usitasigadu uganattan.*  
 kuruma=yu usi-ta=sigā=du ug-an-atta-n  
 car=ACC push-PST=CONJ=FOC move-NEG-PST-IND  
 '(I) pushed a car, but it did not move.'
- b. *daa pii keehanakidu yaseeya*  
 daa pii keeh-an-aki=du yasee=ya  
 2SG fire put.out-NEG-CSL=FOC vegetable=TOP  
*kugararukawa.*  
 kugarar-u=kawa  
 be.burned-PASS-NPST=SFP  
 'Because you have not put out the fire, the vegetables are burned.'

#### 12.1.2 Adverbial Clauses

There are four types of adverbial clauses shown in (207)–(210). The predicate in an adverbial clause is marked by one of several converbs, not by finite verbs encoding tense or mood.

- (207) Conditional clause  
*sunu pisucyaa mata kainda asumarikii ...*  
 su=nu pis-ucyaa mata kai-nda asumar-ikii  
 tide=NOM ebb-COND FL shell-PL gather-CSL  
 'When tide ebbed, (we went to sea and) gathered shellfish, so ...'

- (208) Causal clause  
*daa pii keehanakidu yaseeya*  
*daa pii keeh-ana-ki=du yasee=ya*  
 2SG fire put.out-NEG-CSL=FOC vegetable=TOP  
*kugararukawa.*  
*kugarar-u=kawa*  
 be.burned-PASS-NPST=SFP  
 ‘Because you have not put out the fire, the vegetables are burned.’
- (209) Sequential clause  
*mma nurita huca kari ngirugarayoo.*  
*mma nur-ita huca kar-i ngir-u=gara=yoo*  
 horse ride-SEQ grass mow-INF go-NPST=CONJ=SFP  
 ‘(I) get on a horse, go, and mow the grass.’
- (210) Simultaneous clause  
*sunu ssicidu gakkugo aragi ...*  
*sunu ss-ici=du gaku=go arag-i*  
 kimono wear-SIM=FOC school=DAT walk-INF  
 ‘While wearing a kimono, (I) went to a school ...’

### 12.1.3 Complement Clauses (Quotatives)

Complement clauses are clauses that function as an argument in main clauses. Basically, they function as the argument of speech act verbs and cognitive verbs. They are introduced by *=ti* (QUOT) in (211), *=teni* (QUOT) in (212), *=yu* (polar-question particle) in (213), and *=gasa* (content-question particle) in (214).

- (211) *duunu kurumasi harunti eneru.*  
*duu=nu kuruma=si har-u-n=ti en-er-u*  
 REFL=GEN car=INS go-NPST-IND=QUOT say-PROG-NPST  
 ‘He is saying that he’ll go in his car.’
- (212) *yuu turu pituya icimantenidu eno.*  
*yuu tur-u pitu=ya iciman=teni=du en-Ø-o*  
 fish catch-NPST person=TOP Itoman=QUOT=FOC say-NPST-IND  
 ‘(We) call a man who serves as a fisherman ‘Itoman’ (in Shiraho).’

- (213) *uridu sikara narutayu wakaranusiga ...*  
 uri=du sikara nar-u-ta=yu wakar-an-u=siga  
 this=FOC power become-THM-PST=Q understand-NEG-NPST=CONJ  
 ‘(I) don’t know if it helped, but ...’

- (214) *zaanadu mizi arungasan wakaranu.*  
 zaa=na=du mizi ar-u-n=gasa=n wakar-an-u  
 where=LOC=FOC water exist-NPST-IND=Q=ADD know-NEG-NPST  
 ‘I do not know where water issues from.’

### 12.2 *Clause-Chaining Structure*

Clause-chaining is marked by narrative converbs formed with the infinitive suffix *-i/-a* or sequential converbs formed with the sequential suffix *-ta*.

- (215) *ngomadi higara kuruma sikita ngo kuruma*  
 n=go=madi hii=gara kuruma sik-ita n=go kuruma  
 there=LIM house=ABL car park-SEQ there=DAT car  
*uratta mata arag-i mata kuruman tukumadi aragii*  
 ur-atta mata arag-i mata kuruma=nu tuku=madi arag-i  
 get.off-SEQ and walk-INF and car=GEN place=LIM walk-INF  
*kii ...*  
 k-i  
 come-INF  
 ‘And then, I went there from my house, parked my car, got out of my car, and started walking. And I went back to the car, and ...’

### 12.3 *Insubordination*

In Shirahō, coordinate clauses, causal converb clauses, and narrative converb clauses appear as independent clauses. Coordinate clauses with *gara* and causal converb clauses are used to explain reasons. Narrative converbs can behave as predicates of the main clause and encode past tense, as is found in other Ryukyuan languages (Pellard 2012). Narrative converbs are used in interrogative sentences or in argument/sentence focus sentences as in (216).

- (216) a. *daadu kaki?*  
 daa=du kak-i  
 2SG=FOC write-INF  
 ‘Did you write (this)?’

- b. *bandu kaki.*  
 ban=du kak-i  
 1SG=FOC write-INF  
 'It's me who wrote this.'

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### Appendix: Sample Text

This text is about the diet of Shiraho people around 80 years ago. The speaker was born in Shiraho and has been living there continuously except for some breaks due to work. Because of food shortages, they ate snails, leaves, and the like by gathering from rice fields.

- (217) *ssabuya gumaguma siirenu katacumuree*  
 ssabu=ya guma~guma siir-e-Ø-nu <katacumuri>=ya  
 Shiraho=TOP small~RED do-PROG-NPST-ADN snail=TOP  
*sitami.*  
 sitami  
 snail  
 'In Shiraho, small snails are (called) *sitami*.'
- (218) *sitami sitamito iu.*  
 sitami sitami=<to> <iu>  
 snail snail=QUOT say  
 'Sitami, (we) call snails *sitami*.'
- (219) *ita taana buru munuwa mata tanabura.*  
 ita taa=na bur-u munu=<wa> mata tanabura  
 then rice.field=LOC exist-NPST thing=TOP also mud.snail  
 'Then, what is in a rice field is mud snails.'

- (220) *taana mata magimagu nu munu buta.*  
 ta=na mata magi~magi=nu munu bu-ta  
 rice.field=LOC also big~RED=GEN thing exist-PST  
 'There are big shells in rice fields.'
- (221) *uree urin hoo munu yattaro.*  
 uri=ya uri=n ha-u munu yar-tar-o  
 this=TOP this=ADD eat-NPST thing COP-PST-IND  
 'That was ... that was also food.'
- (222) *sitamiyun agai gumahanu kamiya unu mugasyee=ya*  
 sitami=yun agai guma-ha=nu kami=ya unu mugasi=ya  
 snail=ADD FL small-ADJ=GEN time=TOP this past=TOP  
*tanpakusicutencyaa nuun neenu.*  
 <tanpakusicu>=ti+en-cya nuu=n neen-u  
 protein=QUOT+say-COND what=ADD NEG.STA-NPST  
 'Snails are ... in my childhood, in the past, there was no so-called protein.'
- (223) *hucanu paaobidu herora.*  
 huca=nu paa=obi=du h-er-Ø-o=ra  
 grass=GEN leaf=only=FOC eat-PRF-NPST-IND=SPF  
 'We ate only leaves.'
- (224) *unu sitamin pisi kii urin bagahi hee.*  
 unu sitami=n pis-i k-ii uri=n bagah-i ha-i  
 this snail=ADD pick-INF come-INF this=ADD cook-INF eat-INF  
 'We gathered those snails and went home and ate them.'
- (225) *tacci ngucyaa kondo mata tanabura.*  
 ta=cci ng-ucyaa <kondo> mata tanabura  
 rice.field=TOP go-COND next also mud.snail  
 'When I would go to a rice field, then (I found) mud snails.'
- (226) *agai tanabura mata magi arungara urin*  
 agai tanabura mata magi ar-u-n=gara uri=n  
 FL mud.snail also big COP-NPST-IND=COND that=ADD  
*pisii.*  
 pis-i  
 pick-INF  
 'Mud snails are (also) big, so I would also gather those.'

- (227) *mana tago ngucya tanaburan*  
 mana ta-go ng-ucya tanabura-n  
 now rice.field-DAT go-COND mud.snail-ADD  
*miraruno.*  
 mir-ar-un-Ø-o  
 see-CAP-NEG-NPST-IND  
 ‘Now when (we) go to rice fields, (we) can’t see mud snails.’
- (228) *sitamin tukiduki bainu minagana bun.*  
 sitami-n tukiduki bai-nu minaga-na bu-Ø-n  
 snail-ADD sometimes my.house-GEN garden-LOC exist-NPST-IND  
 ‘There are sometimes snails in my garden (now).’
- (229) *sitami. isiga manaya ureeyaa heeya sanutoyona.*  
 sitami isiga mana-ya uree-ya ha-i-ya s-an-u-toyona  
 snail but now-TOP this-TOP eat-INF-TOP do-NEG-NPST-SFP  
 ‘Snails. But (we) do not eat them now.’

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